

12th Avenue

PROFILE

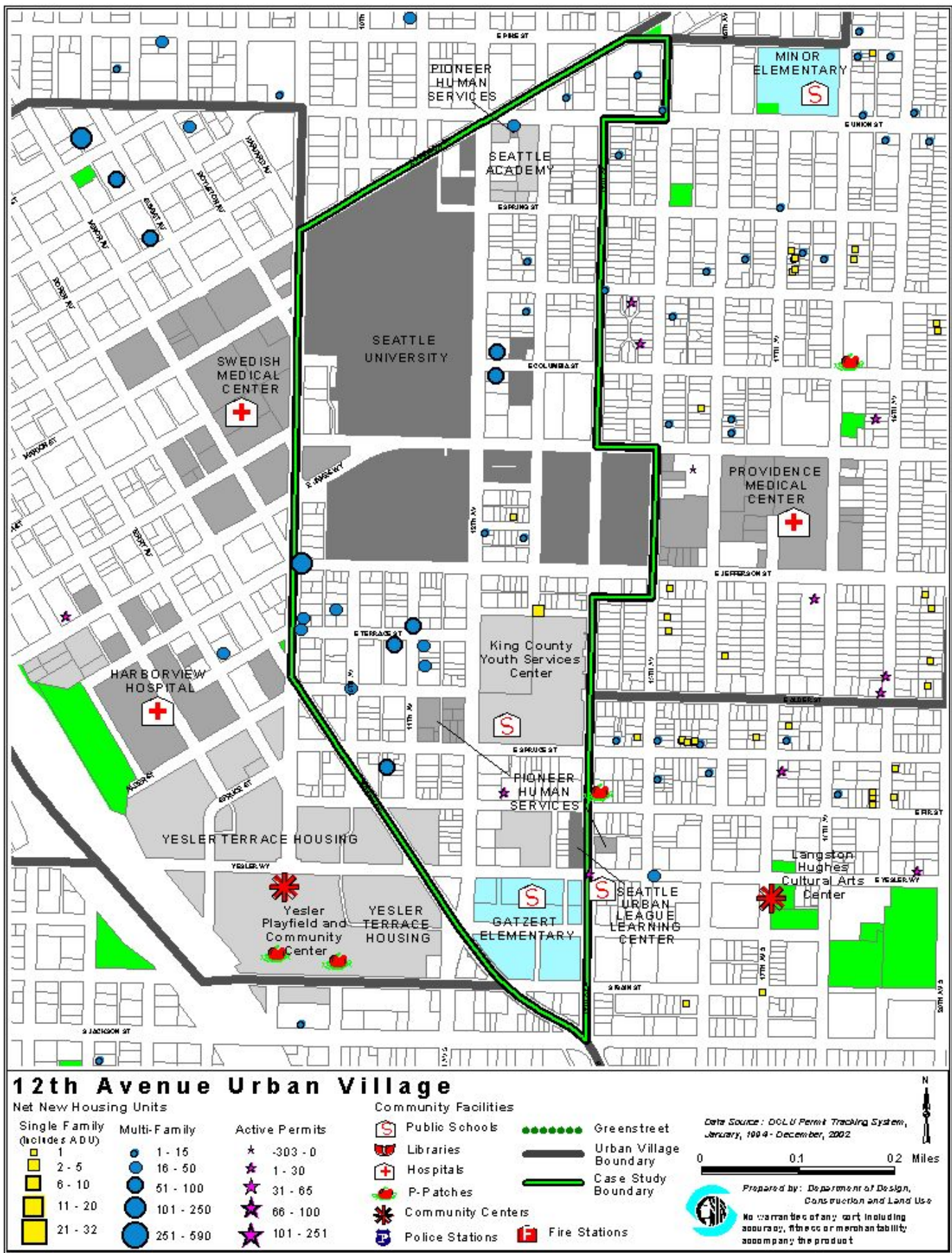
The 12th Avenue Urban Center Village is an under-recognized neighborhood in the heart of Seattle. At the crossroads between the Central Area, Capitol Hill, the International District and First Hill, the urban village is bounded by Madison Street, 14th Avenue, Boren, and Broadway. It is part of the larger First Hill/Capitol Hill Urban Center. First Hill lies to the west, the Pike/Pine District to the north, and the bulk of the Central Area to the east.

In the early 20th century 12th Avenue was a thriving neighborhood commercial center that residents identified with. It connected a small middle-class African-American neighborhood known as East Madison to the extension of skid road along Jackson Street. Seattle University has been a presence in the neighborhood since the early 20th century and has helped to shape the neighborhood both for the good and the bad. At times development on the campus has interacted well with the neighborhood and at other times seemed to turn its back on the surrounding community. The neighborhood was impacted by the City's urban renewal efforts in the 1970s, with the acquisition of a number of parcels for a bus base that was never developed. By the early 1990s, the area's decline was marked by vacant lots and dilapidated housing, sometimes owned by the City, County or University.

The area is characterized by its institutional users. Out of approximately 160 acres in the village, Seattle University controls roughly 30%. Combined with property owned by King County and the Seattle School District, over half of the parcel area in the village is owned by public or institutional users. In addition, Seattle Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Seattle Housing Authority, the Catholic Church and Pioneer Human Services are among the top ten property owners. Providence and Swedish Hospitals flank the neighborhood to the east and west. The area is also home to a number of social service agencies and special-needs housing projects on the west side of the village. Thus, institutions have a significant role in the character and development of this community.

Part of this influence is seen in the high proportion of residents who are students. Within the boundary of the urban village there were 3,522 residents in 2000, over 40% of whom were college students. Between 1990 and 2000, an increase in the student residential population accounted for over 50% of the growth in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood is undergoing a large amount of change. During the last seven years, the neighborhood has seen an impressive increase in residential development, exceeding the City's 20-year growth projection in six years. The university has started to make movements toward opening its campus to 12th Avenue. And, improvements are being made to the 12th Avenue streetscape. At the same time, small businesses which had found an affordable home in the 12th Avenue neighborhood are having a hard time staying as the commercial area redevelops and as parking becomes more difficult.



NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN

Because of the job concentration represented by Seattle University, and the potential for concentrated residential development on the hill south of the University, the City designated the 12th Avenue neighborhood as one of four “urban center villages” in the First Hill/Capitol Hill Urban Center. This designation both acknowledged that future growth would occur in the area and allowed the community to plan for how that growth could be accommodated.

The 12th Avenue community chose to join with neighborhoods to the east to build on previous planning projects and to plan as part of the Central Area. The Central Area Action Plan was developed for the broader Central Area by the community in 1992. It reflected the community’s desire to “recover a neglected neighborhood while keeping a wary eye on the human impact those changes might bring.”

Also in the early 1990s, the 12th Avenue Development Plan was developed to guide the disposition of City-owned parcels along 12th Avenue, originally used as a bus base. This plan called for trading bus base parcels with Seattle University-owned property along 12th Avenue. The parcels were then to be sold to private developers in order to provide “positive new residential and commercial opportunities that support the neighborhood.” Funds from those property sales would be used to upgrade “streets, sidewalks and utilities as part of a coordinated capital improvement program to improve traffic and pedestrian circulation, provide a better setting for redevelopment, increase safety and security, and reinforce a positive design image.” This plan is one of the only times the City has agreed to funnel funds from a property sale to make specific improvements in the neighborhood when the sale occurred.

Building on these plans, a Central Area Action Plan II (CAAPII) was developed between 1995 and 1998 as part of the citywide neighborhood planning process. This neighborhood plan “envision[s] the urban village as a thriving mixed-use residential and commercial area set near the intersection of several diverse neighborhoods, and major economic and institutional centers.” The neighborhood plan was focused on the development of 12th Avenue into a “‘boulevard’ friendly to pedestrians and bicyclists, yet still accommodating to motorists, emergency vehicles, and future transit riders.” This boulevard was to be developed through:

- the implementation of the 12th Avenue street and streetscape improvements that were part of the 12th Avenue Development Plan,
- designation of the street as a key pedestrian street,
- bicycle and pedestrian connections to the Central Park trail (which runs between Judkins and Pratt parks east of 12th Avenue), and
- working with transit agencies to improve transit service in the neighborhood.

The plan also sought a “strong and vital local retail and service economy” housed in “attractive three to five-story buildings.” Actions needed to achieve this future included:

- rezoning a number of properties along 12th to better emphasize the pedestrian-orientation and mixed-use character desired of new development,

- development of design guidelines for new development,
- support for development of a First Hill light rail station, and
- continued City assistance and community involvement in implementation of the 12th Avenue Development Plan.

Another key activity of CAAP II was the Central Gateway Project. This project focused on improving the south end of the neighborhood, where it meets the Chinatown/International District, 23rd and Union/Jackson and First Hill villages. The area was characterized as an “incoherent mess for motorists, transit, pedestrians, bicyclists and people trying to access the uses in and around this area.” The gateway project sought improvements to the transportation network and the reuse of a key site: the “Lloyd’s Rocket” triangle, a former gas station, had been sitting unused for years. In order to improve the gateway, design workshops including members of all of the neighboring communities were to be held.

COMMUNITY IDENTITY

The present village is really a collection of smaller communities, populations, or interests. 12th Avenue, the street, has often been seen as the border between First Hill and Central District neighborhoods, rather than the heart of a neighborhood. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, in a series that ran from 1996 to 2000, identified 12th Avenue as the boundary between the Central Area and First Hill, dividing this village in half. Mary Henry, in her “thumbnail history” of the Central Area at HistoryLink.org, similarly describes the village. The Squire Park Community Council considers 12th to be its western boundary. Because its most significant street is seen as a boundary, the 12th Avenue neighborhood has not always been seen as a place in its own right. Many people think of the 12th Avenue area as home to Seattle University, part of First Hill, or alternatively the beginning of the Central District — or just a place to find good Ethiopian restaurants.

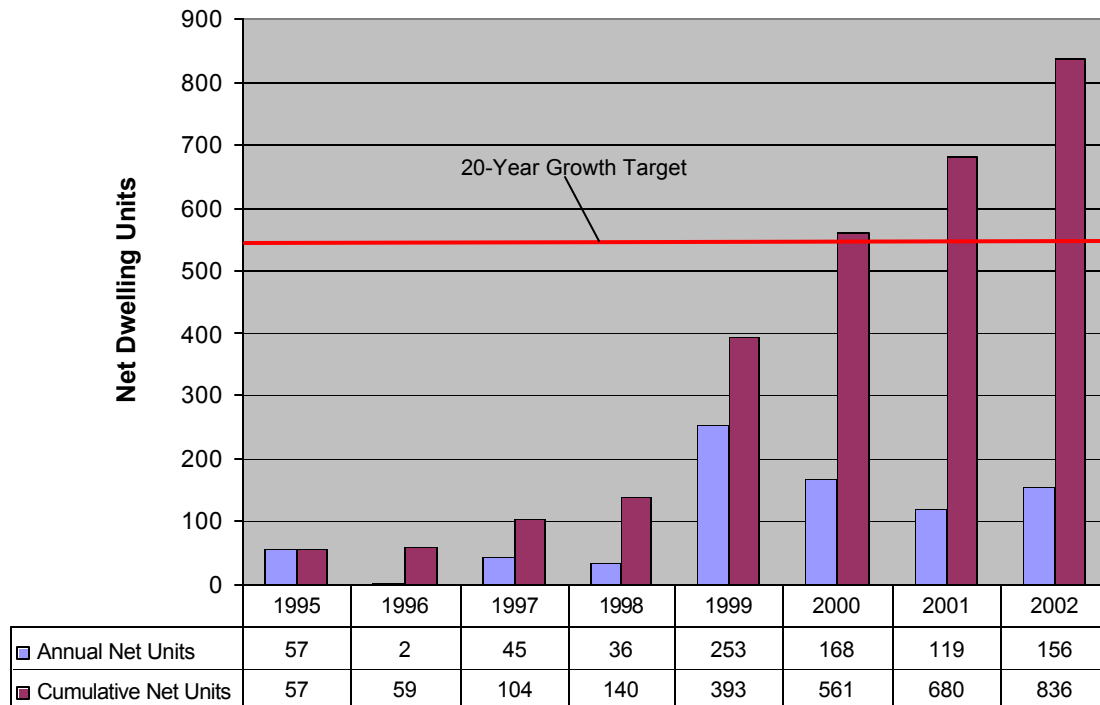
12th Avenue’s historic character and identity as a community employment center were lost over decades of economic decline and physical decay. Currently people come to the neighborhood for very different reasons. Those who participated in neighborhood planning or implementation believe that a village-wide community will re-emerge with redevelopment. The neighborhood planning process provided an opportunity for such a vision to take hold. A group of community members is now working with the institutions in the neighborhood to develop 12th Avenue as a community asset and a main corridor in the community, with its own identity.

GROWTH

The 12th Avenue urban village’s growth has been much stronger than planned. While some may argue that the village’s growth target was too low (540 dwelling units), the fact remains that the village has seen 836 new units, an 85% increase in housing units in the

neighborhood since 1994.¹ That amounts to 155% of its 20-year housing target. Between 1990 and 2000, population rose by more than 1,100 people, or 46%. Most of the new units were built in privately-developed multifamily buildings in the midrise zone in the southwest part of the village (an area bounded by E. Jefferson Street, 12th Avenue, E. Fir Street, Boren Avenue, and Broadway Avenue.) This area is quickly changing from a small-scale apartment and single family neighborhood to a midrise community.

12th Ave Urban Village Net Housing Growth



The Development Plan, with a focus on the redevelopment of underutilized City-owned parcels, has resulted in new residential development in the community. Two large mixed-use projects have been built at 12th Avenue and E. Columbia Street on land formerly owned by the City. Together these two projects added 150 units to the village.

Seattle University has also contributed a sizable share of the new housing in the neighborhood. In 1999, the 200-unit Archbishop Murphy Apartment building for upper-class students was completed. This University apartment building accounted for approximately a quarter of the units built in the neighborhood between 1995 and 2002.

The current enrollment of Seattle University is approximately 6,000 students. The University recently located its new law school on 12th Avenue, adding 1,000 to the student population. In addition to the Murphy Apartments, the University is planning to

¹ Estimated is used here because these figures use the 1994 estimated existing dwelling units from the Comprehensive Plan, as amended in 1999. It is not clear at this point how reliable those 1994 estimates are.

build additional housing for students on or close to campus. Approximately one quarter of the neighborhood's 3,500 residents lived on campus in 2000.

Partially as a result of growth in the institutions and partly as a reflection of a strong regional economy in the late 1990s, employment growth in the village has been solid: 435 new jobs from 1995 to 2001, a 12% increase over that period. These jobs are equal to 36% of the village's 20-year growth target.

A VARIETY OF HOUSING TYPES BUILT TO APPROPRIATE SCALE

The 12th Avenue Urban Village provides a number of different residential environments, ranging from highrise dorms on the Seattle University campus to the emerging midrise residential neighborhood south of Seattle University to a small single family/duplex area east of the University.

The residential neighborhoods of 12th Avenue have seen big changes since the Comprehensive Plan was adopted. As noted



A small area of single-family houses and duplexes lies east of Seattle University

above, the neighborhood has accommodated 800 net new units since 1995. Single-family and duplex structures and smaller apartment buildings have been replaced by large multi-family buildings in the midrise district south of Seattle University. The fast change that has occurred in this area has sometimes resulted in awkward juxtapositions of scale as the area develops into the midrise community that is intended to provide a transition from the highrise community of First Hill. South of Cherry and east of 12th in an area zoned for low-rise residential uses, smaller in-fill projects have gone in.

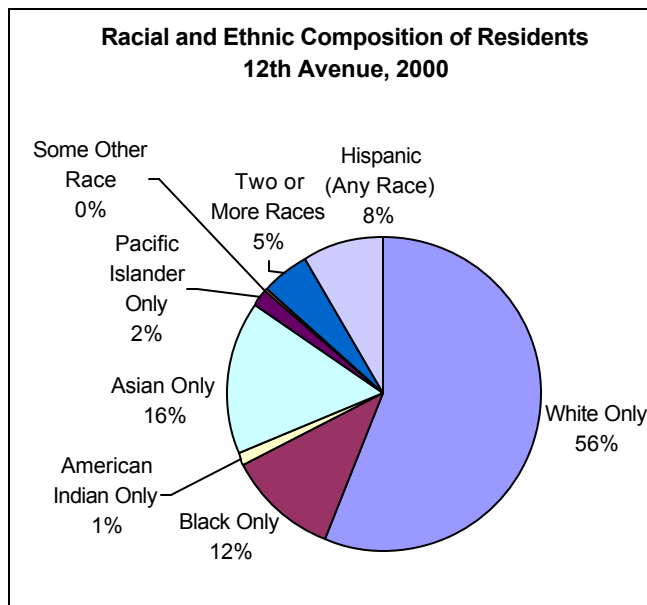
12th Avenue is predominately a community of renters with home ownership decreasing from 13% in 1990 to 8% in 2000. The home ownership rate has fallen chiefly because most of the new units built in the neighborhood have been rentals. According to permit records, only five single-family homes were demolished between 1995 and 2002. The neighborhood has long had a large number of housing units for specific populations, such as students, low-income households, and individuals recovering from drug and alcohol addictions, and criminal offenders. More recently, more market-rate units are appearing.

A recent report by the City's Office of Housing (2002) found that almost half of the village's multifamily housing is affordable to households earning below 50% of the

area's median income, in part due to the concentration of public housing in Yesler Terrace and other subsidized housing in the neighborhood. Another 28% is affordable to households between 51% and 80% of median income.

DIVERSITY

The physical development and demographic profile of the 12th Avenue urban village is influenced significantly by the presence of Seattle University and other institutions. Over half of the residents of the urban village live in 'group quarters,' rather than in traditional houses or apartments. Group quarters include college dormitories, correctional facilities (such as found at the King County Youth Services Center), nursing homes, and group homes (such as those run by Pioneer Human Services).



There have been changes in the racial mix of the community over the last ten years. The percentage of residents who are white is relatively the same in 2000 as it was in 1990. However, in spite of 1,100 new residents the number of community residents who were African-Americans did not grow and the share of residents who identify themselves as African-American consequently dropped from 20% to 13%.² The Asian population doubled between 1990 and 2000, and Asians increased their share of the population from 13% to at least 16%.³

The International District/ Chinatown to the south is the commercial and cultural center for the Asian community. With limited housing in the ID, some Asians have come to 12th Avenue to find housing. Moderate rents and the university community in the 12th Avenue area have for some time provided commercial opportunities for small ethnic businesses who have found affordable property right in the middle of the district.

Probably as a result of the student population (40% of the area's population) and the concentration of subsidized housing, incomes in the 12th Avenue Urban Center Village are much lower than those in the rest of the city. However, the neighborhood had a wider range of incomes in 2000 than in 1990. The median household income in 12th Avenue increased from 43% of the citywide median in 1989 to 47% in 1999.

² Comparisons are difficult between the 1990 and the 2000 censuses because, for the first time, the latter allowed citizens to categorize themselves in one or more race categories. This figure represents "black or African-American and one or more other races" in the 2000 Census and included Hispanic Blacks.

³ That is, 16% "Asian only." 19% described themselves as "Asian and one or more other races."

In 1999, 35% of residents had incomes below the federal poverty level. This represents a decrease from 1989 when 41% of residents had incomes below poverty. Part of the high poverty rate in the neighborhood is due to the public housing population at Yesler Terrace. Another factor contributing to the high poverty rate in this area is the student population, some of whom may have sources of support beyond their own income. A majority of the population in the 18 to 24 year age group meets the federal definition of poverty. Although this age group represents 24% of the neighborhood's population, it represents 40% of residents in poverty. Other groups with particularly high levels of poverty are children under five and seniors over sixty-five.

In 1999, five percent of households in the 12th Avenue village earned more than \$100,000, compared to one percent of households that earned over \$75,000 or more in 1989. It is not clear if the new residents earn higher wages than those who left, or if their households have more wage earners. The household incomes of those who left the neighborhood are not available.

Meanwhile, age diversity, which was already less than the city's, decreased further with an influx of 1,000 more 18-to-24 year-olds living in the village. The expansion of Seattle U has helped to drive this surge in college-aged residents.

	1989	1999
12 th Avenue (Census Tract 86) ⁴		
Median Income	\$12,564	\$21,659
% of Population in Poverty	41%	35%
Seattle		
Median Income	\$29,353	\$45,736
% of Population in Poverty	12%	12%

GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification is difficult to assess in the 12th Avenue urban village. Gentrification is usually defined by population turnover that brings with it higher incomes and rising property values. Given the limits of this study, residential turnover could not be studied in depth, but changes in income and home values are available. The median household income in the urban village rose almost 18% in the 1990s, more than twice the citywide rise. Rents also grew faster in this neighborhood than they did citywide. On the other hand, median home values (estimated by homeowners in the Census) rose 22%, far less than the 35% citywide average. It appears that some gentrification is occurring in the neighborhood.

Although the primary definition of gentrification looks at increasing incomes and property values in a neighborhood, changes in race and ethnicity, household types, and age are often associated with gentrification. There is less evidence that these changes are occurring in the 12th Avenue neighborhood. The percentage of African-Americans in the neighborhood dropped in the 1990s although their number stayed fairly steady. On the other hand, the number and percent of Asian and White residents has grown. There was a

⁴ Tract 86's boundaries are Broadway, Yesler, 15th Avenue, Madison and Union. It includes some additional blocks which are part of the Yesler Terrace public housing community to the southwest of the village boundaries, and the blocks between 14th and 15th, Yesler and Union, most of which are not included in the Urban Village. The three blocks south of Yesler Way and north of Union Street which are included in the Urban Village are not included in the census tract boundary.

small increase in the number of family households but a decrease in families with children, indicating that the additional family households are childless couples. The loss of families with children, however, is a citywide trend, not specific to 12th Avenue. The number of seniors in the area grew faster than the overall neighborhood growth, despite city trends to the contrary. Sixty-five percent (65%) of the village's growth came from the 18-24 years of age group; i.e. college students. Thus, some of what looks like gentrification may come from added residents rather than from turnover.

A different form of gentrification, often overlooked, is of particular concern to 12th Avenue community members. Small, independent businesses are struggling to survive in the neighborhood as rents increase and parking becomes more difficult. A number of locally-owned businesses have been forced to close while businesses in the new developments in the neighborhood are sometimes occupied by franchise and corporate-owned shops.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL AREAS

The physical relationship between residential and commercial areas in the urban village appears to be improving. In the past, some light-industrial uses were located adjacent to residences. Many of the warehouse and other heavy commercial buildings are beginning to be redeveloped into more pedestrian-friendly community-oriented buildings. New midrise apartment buildings complement the scale of existing institutional buildings west of 12th Avenue. East of 12th Avenue, particularly south of Cherry Street, the built environment is in transition. While several single-family and low-scale multifamily buildings remain, there are a number of vacant lots and surface parking lots in this area, and large heavy-commercial uses remain. Interviewees expect the vacant and parking lots to be redeveloped sooner rather than later.

Existing zoning west of 12th Avenue accommodates midrise housing. As the neighborhood plan was adopted, most of the commercial area in the village was rezoned from general commercial zones, which allowed automobile-oriented development, to neighborhood commercial zones, which require more of a pedestrian-orientation. The City is currently reviewing a proposed rezone of property owned by King County along the east side of 12th Avenue to Neighborhood Commercial. The County is exploring building a mixed-use building adjacent to the Youth Detention facility which would expand the mixed-use commercial environment to the south as envisioned by the community.

VIBRANT, PEDESTRIAN-ORIENTED COMMERCIAL AREAS

The 12th Avenue commercial area is undergoing a change. Small businesses with long-time roots in the community have been leaving because of redevelopment of their buildings, landlords demanding higher rents and because increased activity in the neighborhood has put a strain on the parking that used to be easily accessible.

The pedestrian environment along 12th is improving. Until recently, Seattle University's buildings faced inward to campus, turning blank walls to the rest of the neighborhood, giving the appearance of a fortress trying to shield itself from the surrounding community. Universities across the nation are notorious for "turning their backs" (physically) on their neighborhoods. The present administration at Seattle U, however, is credited with recent efforts to be good neighbors by participating in neighborhood planning and stewardship, and by developing property in ways that enhance the street environment.



Pedestrian streetscape improvements and new mixed-use buildings along 12th Avenue, are the result of the 12th Avenue development plan.

Newer buildings on and off campus, including one built on former City property, address the street and present a more welcoming face to the community. In addition, both the university and the City have recently made improvements to sidewalks in the neighborhood.

In 2002, the City made significant improvements to the sidewalk along 12th Avenue between Marion and Columbia as the first phase in the implementation of the 12th Avenue Development Plan. Improvements included widening and improving the sidewalk, planting trees and creating curb bulbs (widening the curb where it meets an intersection, creating more space for pedestrians and shortening the length of the intersection that they need to cross). Across the street to the west, Seattle University has made similar improvements to the sidewalk along the campus. The plan is to extend these improvements along 12th Avenue, creating a consistent and enjoyable pedestrian environment.

Outside of those blocks, sidewalks are adequate, but most of the urban village does not have a vibrant pedestrian orientation, and the neighborhood lacks some basic shopping and services, such as a full grocery store.

The City's decisions to sell property for mixed-use development with neighborhood-oriented retail spaces on the ground floors, have led to improvements that promise to benefit the pedestrian orientation. The blocks where these improvements have been made appear to be experiencing higher pedestrian volumes than other areas along 12th.

MOBILITY

The 12th Avenue neighborhood has frequent bus service that provides access to many points downtown and to neighborhoods to the east. Buses run every seven minutes along James and Jefferson streets, and every ten to 15 minutes up and down Madison Street. A sound transit light rail station may be built at Broadway and Madison, at the northwest corner of the village.

There is no transit service north and south on 12th, a service that the community has made a high priority. Instead, current north-south service runs along Broadway and Boren, a steep walk up from 12th Avenue. The community believes transit service on 12th is essential in order to build an integrated corridor and enhance commercial vitality. In addition, improved transit service to Seattle University could reduce the number of students and faculty driving to campus and parking on the neighborhood's streets. Given limited funding for transit services and a shift in future funding from Seattle routes to suburban routes, it is not likely that transit service will be placed along 12th in the near future.

Sidewalks in the 12th Avenue neighborhood are adequate. Although in some areas they are in need of repair, there are sidewalks throughout the neighborhood.

In addition, Seattle's Department of Transportation (SDOT) has made numerous small-scale pedestrian improvements including 2002 projects on Union Street (curb bulbs) and 14th Avenue (curb bulbs and crosswalk), and the sidewalk improvements on 12th as noted above. Bicycling is not difficult, although no designated lanes exist.



Sidewalks along portions of 12th Avenue are in need of repair. Note the existing, heavy-commercial uses on this stretch of 12th.

PARKING

Community members perceive that the community's streets are clogged with cars parked by commuting students and by people commuting to downtown and First Hill from other neighborhoods. Student parking is thought to have increased since the Seattle University Law School opened. Small businesses in the area, which have relied on on-street parking for their customers, hear that their customers are having a more difficult time parking and are concerned that the loss of parking will affect their ability to stay in the neighborhood. SDOT is currently working with the community on a parking study.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES WITHIN WALKING DISTANCE OF THE CORE

12th Avenue residents have few community facilities nearby. No public library exists within walking distance. The closest are Douglass-Truth and the (future) downtown Central Library, each approximately three-quarters of a mile away. (The public may use materials in Seattle University's library, but may not check them out.) A new library is scheduled to open in 2004 in the International District, approximately half a mile from the south boundary of the village. Seattle Public Library considers library service areas to be one mile in diameter.

Bailey Gatzert Elementary School anchors the southern end of the 12th Avenue village. While walkable from most of the residential areas in 12th Avenue, it has not been a source of community identity. For many years the school district has bused or allowed students to attend schools outside their home communities. Residents feel that this policy has hindered a sense of community that could be based on school activities. However, it is likely that the small elementary school age population also presents a challenge to focusing community involvement around the school.

The Seattle School District and the City have partnered to open up schools after hours to community groups. Gatzert Elementary is one of the schools that is available for public meetings in the evenings for a minimal charge. As a community meeting place, it may become more of a center of the community.

A multitude of social services are located within walking distance of the core, including a center for



King County's "Whale Fin Park" adjacent to the Youth Services Center is currently the only publicly-owned park space in the village.

Early Childhood Education and Assistance Program, four sites for kids' summertime lunches, and 31 apartments for emergency housing operated by Seattle Emergency Housing Services.

OPEN SPACE AND RECREATION

There are no City parks in the village, and only one small park near the village. Dating back to the 12th Avenue plan of the early 1990s, the City and neighborhood's focus has been on economic development along 12th Avenue. Thus the City's decision was to target excess property for commercial or mixed-use development, rather than for park space. The City is currently designing a pocket park for City-owned property at the corner of Spruce and Boren. Until that is built the only park-like space is a green spot on King County's juvenile detention center property, known as



This overgrown lot at Boren and Spruce is the site of a new park.
Source: Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation

“Whale Fin Park” because of a large sculpture there. The County is considering expanding the detention center and eliminating this open space. Negotiations are under way to try to save it. Yesler Community Center, located at Yesler Terrace, is available for the use of 12th Avenue residents (in addition to others), and will be rebuilt using Community Center Levy funds. It is approximately half a mile from the center of the village, but close to the south edge of the neighborhood.

12th Avenue does not meet the Comprehensive Plan's goals for accessible open space in urban villages. In addition, the Parks Department reports that 12th Avenue “is wholly deficient in the desirable level of breathing room open space,” a citywide standard (2000, p. 16). The small parcel that is under development would still leave approximately half of the village underserved (Seattle Parks and Recreation, 2000). The Spring Street pocket park, which is located outside the 12th Avenue village boundaries, services a small part of the northeast section of the village.

The Seattle University campus has open space and the University operates athletic fields in the neighborhood. In addition, there are publicly-accessible fields at Bailey Gatzert Elementary school, but community access is limited, and the fields do not have lights. Fields and open spaces at Seattle University are heavily used by students and the University community and are generally not available to neighbors.

During the neighborhood planning process, parks and open space was not a high priority subject. Participants were more concerned with transportation and economic development than the need for parks. Aside from neighborhood planning participants, it has been suggested that because so many residents rent and know they will reside in the community only a short time, long-term improvements like parks are not important to them. In addition, the student population, which makes up a considerable share of the neighborhood's population (although not a majority), does have access to the University's recreation facilities and is not likely to perceive additional open space as a community need.

PARTNERSHIPS FOR SERVICES, ACTIVITIES, AND INTERACTION

Participation in neighborhood planning stewardship among institutional representatives, including representatives from the university, and public agencies active in the neighborhood, remains fairly high, but neighborhood plan stewards are stretched thin. Numerous partnerships exist between corporate, governmental, and non-profit agencies to deliver social services in the area.

Resident participation in neighborhood plan stewardship may be low because of fragmentation within and between other planning groups of the Central Area (to which 12th Avenue belongs.) In addition, the large populations of students and subsidized housing residents present their own challenges to community involvement. The Weed and Seed program, aimed at reducing crime, and the Squire Park P-Patch created in 1995, also keep residents involved. Eleven community organizations participated in Central Area neighborhood planning. One consequence of planning as part of the Central Area is that the 12th Avenue village received only a portion of the \$50,000 early implementation funds allocated to the Central Area. Urban villages that planned on their own received \$50,000 each.

SUMMARY

The 12th Avenue urban village is quickly changing. The village has grown right past its residential target, and promises to do so with employment. Consequently, the demographics of the neighborhood are changing with the influx of additional college-age residents and an increased Asian population. The community and City have worked for over ten years on a unique project to develop City-owned properties and use the proceeds from those properties on streetscape improvements. Those improvements have started to be built and are likely to significantly change the neighborhood. Seattle University's efforts to orient their recent development towards the surrounding neighborhood have also helped to create a more inviting community. New development, such as a mixed-use building that Seattle University is proposing at 12th and Cherry, or an expansion of Seattle Academy at 12th and Spring will continue to expand the pedestrian orientation of 12th to the south and to the north.